

Message Text

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17-12
ACTION SP-03

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RSC-01 /055 W
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R 240810Z JUL 74
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3530

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FOR: S/P SWIERS FROM LORD

E.O. 11652: NA
TAGS: PFOR XE
SUBJ: INSTITUTIONALIZING FOREIGN POLICY

1. FOLLOWING IS REVISED PACKAGE FOR SECY'S MTG WITH EA. THIS
INCLUDES COVER MEMO TAB A TALKING POINTS. YOU HAVE TAB "B" EA PAPER.
DO IN FINAL AND FORWARD TO SECRETARY WITH COPIES TO EA AND IA.

2. BEGIN TEXT OF MEMORANDUM TO SECRETARY

TO: THE SECRETARY

FROM: S/P - WINSTON LORD

PA - CAROL LAISE

SUBJECT: MEETING WITH EA BUREAU ON INSTITUTIONALIZING FOREIGN POLICY

YOU ARE SCHEDULED TO MEET WITH SENIOR EA OFFICERS ON MONDAY,
JULY 29 AT (BLANK) IN THE CONFERENCE ROOM IN THE FIRST OF A SERIES
OF DISCUSSIONS WITH THE BUREAUS DESIGNED TO CONVEY TO THIS CRITICAL
LAYER IN THE POLICY PROCESS YOUR VIEWS ON WHAT YOU WANT TO ACCOMPLISH
AND WHAT YOU WANT THEM TO ACCOMPLISH, OBTAIN MORE DIRECTLY
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THE THINKING OF KEY LINE OFFICERS ON OUR OVERALL POLICY

OBJECTIVES, AND STIMULATE A GREATER SENSE OF PARTICIPATION
IN SHAPING THE BROAD CONCEPTS OF POLICY.

EA HAS PREPARED A BRIEF PAPER (SEE TAB B) TO SERVE
AS A VEHICLE FOR DISCUSSION. IT PUTS FORWARD THE PROPO-
SITION THAT THE EXTRA-REGIONAL PREOCCUPATIONS AND
INTERESTS OF THE MAJOR PACIFIC POWERS, THE EMERGENCE OF
NEW AND DISPARATE ISSUES WHICH DEFY REGIONAL SOLUTIONS,
AND THE DEMISE OF A UNIFIED "COMMUNIST THREAT" PROVIDING
CEMENT FOR OUR OWN ALLIANCE SYSTEM MAKES IT DIFFICULT--
AND PERHAPS UNNECESSARY -- FOR US TO FORMULATE A SINGLE
REGIONAL POLICY FOR ASIA. IT ALSO SETS FORTH A VARIETY
OF POLICY ISSUES WHICH INVOLVE POLICY CONSIDERATIONS
EXTENDING WELL BEYOND THE ASIAN REGION.

WE THINK THE MEETING WILL BE MOST PRODUCTIVE IF YOU INITIATE
THE DIALOGUE WITH SOME BRIEF REMARKS ON THE PURPOSE OF THE
DISCUSSION, ELABORATE THE CONCEPTUAL UNDERPINNINGS OF US GLOBAL
POLICY, COMMENT BRIEFLY ON THE APPLICABILITY OF THOSE BROAD
PRINCIPLES TO THE ASIAN REGION, AND INVITE DISCUSSION WITH THE
EA OFFICERS FOCUSSED ON THOSE AREAS OF THE REGION IN WHICH
LOCAL INTERESTS MOST OBVIOUSLY INTERSECT WITH THE INTERPLAY
AMONG THE MAJOR POWERS. S/P HAS PREPARED TALKING POINTS AND
IDENTIFIED SOME ISSUES FOR DISCUSSION. THEY ARE ATTACHED
AT TAB A. END TEXT OF MEMORANDUM.

FOLLOWING IS TEXT TAB A. YOU HAVE TAB B.

BEGIN TEXT TAB A

TALKING POINTS

1. PURPOSE OF MEETING (UNDERLINED)

(A SMALL DOSE OF PALMER HUMOR, IF FUNNY, IS ACCEPTABLE HERE.)

--DURING THE FIRST FOUR YEARS OF THIS ADMINISTRATION SOME
DELICATE INITIATIVES WERE UNDERTAKEN WHICH REQUIRED CLOSE
SECURITY AND CENTRALIZATION OF CONTROL. CRUCIAL FOUNDATIONS
WERE LAID. NOW WE NEED TO BUILD ON THOSE FOUNDATIONS A MORE
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PERMANENT STRUCTURE AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK THAT CAN BE PASSED
ON TO SUCCEEDING ADMINISTRATIONS.

--FOREIGN POLICY CANNOT BE EFFECTIVE IF IT REFLECTS ONLY
THE INITIATIVES OF A SMALL GROUP OF MEN. A MORE DURABLE STRUCTURE
OF POLICY CAN BE ACHIEVED ONLY THROUGH DEEP AND CONTINUING
INVOLVEMENT OF THE PROFESSIONALS OF THE FOREIGN SERVICE. THUS
MY PRINCIPAL AIMS AS SECRETARY INCLUDE INFUSING THIS DE-

PARTMENT WITH A GREATER SENSE OF PARTICIPATION IN POLICY MAKING, ASSISTING ITS OFFICERS TO ACQUIRE A BROADER PERCEPTION OF AMERICAN INTERESTS, AND ENCOURAGING POLICYMAKING WHICH TAKES ACCOUNT OF LONGER-TERM PROBLEMS AND POSSIBILITIES. THESE ARE THE MAIN PURPOSES OF THIS MEETING, THE FIRST IN A SERIES I AM PLANNING TO HOLD WITH THE BUREAUS.

2. THE GLOBAL FRAMEWORK (UNDERLINED)

--A DURABLE STRUCTURE OF PEACE REQUIRES AN EQUILIBRIUM IN WHICH THE MAJOR POWERS ARE NOT DEPENDENT FOR THEIR SECURITY SIMPLY ON THE GOODWILL OF THEIR POTENTIAL ADVERSARIES AND IN WHICH THEY RECOGNIZE A COMMON STAKE IN PRESERVING THE BASIC POLITICAL FRAMEWORK -- OR IN CHANGING IT THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS RATHER THAN THROUGH THE USE OF FORCE.

--IN ATTEMPTING TO CREATE SUCH A STRUCTURE WE HAVE BEEN ADDRESSING TWO DISTINCT YET INTERRELATED CHALLENGES:

(A) TO BUILD A STABLE INTERNATIONAL EQUILIBRIUM, (UNDERLINE STABLE INTERNATIONAL EQUILIBRIUM) AND (B) TO DEVISE A COOPERATIVE INTERNATIONAL ORDER. (UNDERLINE COOPERATIVE THROUGH ORDER)

A. A STABLE EQUILIBRIUM: (UNDERLINED)

IN PURSUING THE FIRST TASK, WE HAVE ALREADY SUCCEEDED IN BREAKING DOWN THE FORMERLY RIGID COLD WAR GLOBAL STRUCTURE DIVIDED BY ANTAGONISTIC BLOCS AND REPLACING IT WITH A MORE OPEN, FLUID ENVIRONMENT. BUT A NEW STRUCTURE OF LASTING QUALITIES HAS NOT YET FULLY EMERGED.

KEY POLICIES ARE DESIGNED TO TRANSFORM RELATIONS WITH ADVERSARIES (UNDERLINE TRANSFORM THROUGH ADVERSARIES) AND TO INFUSE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ESSENTIAL ALLIANCES (UNDERLINE ESSENTIAL ALLIANCES) WITH A NEW SENSE OF SHARED PURPOSES.

--WITH ADVERSARIES WE ARE SEEKING MORE POSITIVE RELATIONSHIPS BY ATTEMPTING TO:

1) DEFINE MUTUALLY ACCEPTED PRINCIPLES OF RESTRAINT;

2) EXPAND SCOPE OF INTERDEPENDENCE, THUS CREATING NEW BUREAUCRATIC AND POLITICAL INDUCEMENTS TO MODERATION, AND

3) DEIDEOLOGIZE FOREIGN POLICY BY BASING POLICIES ON EXTERNAL ACTIONS RATHER THAN THE INTERNAL CHARACTERISTICS AND SOCIAL SYSTEMS OF OTHER COUNTRIES.

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--IN PURSUING COEXISTENCE, WE HAVE TO KEEP FOLLOWING
PRINCIPLES IN MIND:

1) OPPOSE ATTEMPTS BY USSR OR OTHERS TO ACHIEVE POSITION
OF PREDOMINANCE GLOBALLY OR REGIONALLY;

2) RESIST ATTEMPTS TO EXPLOIT DETENTE TO WEAKEN ALLIANCES;
AND

3) REACT IF ADVERSARIES ATTEMPT TO UTILIZE ATMOSPHERICS
OF DETENTE TO EXACERBATE CONFLICTS IN TROUBLE SPOTS.

--REDESIGN MILITARY POSTURE TO SUPPORT THESE OBJECTIVES.

--WITH FRIENDS (UNDERLINE FRIENDS) WE MUST:

1) INFUSE KEY ALLIANCES WITH NEW SENSE OF SHARED PURPOSES
KEYED TO A TRANSFORMED INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT.

2) OBTAIN MORE EQUITABLE BALANCE IN SHARING BURDENS OF
DEFENSE AND DEVELOPMENT.

(--EXPAND THIS SECTION ON FRIENDS BY ABOUT HALF A PAGE)

B. A COOPERATIVE INTERNATIONAL ORDER: (UNDERLINED)

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--STABLE EQUILIBRIUM NOT AN END IN ITSELF, BUT A CONDITION PERMITTING MORE ORDERLY AND SUSTAINED ASSAULT ON A HOST OF COMMON PROBLEMS REQUIRING MULTILATERAL SOLUTIONS.

--POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE WORLD IN NEED OF REDESIGNING TO DEAL WITH PRESSING ISSUES OF RAW MATERIALS, ENERGY, FOOD, MONETARY REFORM, TRADE, ETC.

--PROMOTE NEW PATTERNS OF COOPERATION WITH INDUSTRIALLY ADVANCED DEMOCRACIES (MIN, ECG), PRODUCERS OF KEY COMMODITIES (E.G. JOINT COMMISSIONS), AND LDC'S (WORLD FOOD CONFERENCE).

--INTERCONNECTIONS BETWEEN DEVELOPMENT OF STABLE MULTIPOLAR EQUILIBRIUM AND CREATION OF MORE COOPERATIVE INTERNATIONAL ORDER.

3. POLICY FRAMEWORK IN EAST ASIA (UNDERLINED)

--THE DISCUSSION PAPER PREPARED IN EA FOR THIS MEETING SUGGESTS THAT WE ARE CURRENTLY WITHOUT A SINGLE STRATEGY OR POLICY FOR EAST ASIA AND THAT WE MAY NOT REQUIRE ONE. IT SUBMITS THAT WE ARE DEALING WITH A SUBTLE AND COMPLEX EQUILIBRIUM; WHOSE ESSENTIAL COMPONENTS, HOWEVER, REMAIN OBSCURE. OBSERVATIONS ON CENTRAL PREMISES OF POLICY IN EAST ASIA;

--STRATEGY FOR RELATING US POLICY TO SINO-SOVIET RIVALRY, AS, FOR EXAMPLE, IN RELATIONSHIP TO US INVOLVEMENT IN SIBERIAN RESOURCE PROJECTS;

--CONCEPTION OF JAPAN'S STRATEGIC ROLE;

--US ROLE IN PROMOTING DEVELOPMENT OF MORE DURABLE POLITICAL ARRANGEMENTS IN AREAS OF RESIDUAL CONFLICT--KOREA AND INDOCHINA.

--US POSTURE TOWARD MOVES IN DIRECTION OF MORE AUTHORITARIAN PATTERNS OF GOVERNMENT IN REGION.

4. ISSUES FOR DISCUSSION (UNDERLINED)

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THE EA PAPER POSES A NUMBER OF DISCUSSION ISSUES. IT MIGHT BE MOST PRODUCTIVE TO CONCENTRATE ON THREE BROAD QUESTIONS:

A. TO WHAT EXTENT AND HOW SHOULD WE UTILIZE OUR EVOLVING RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE MAJOR PACIFIC POWERS TO ACHIEVE A GREATER DEGREE OF STABILITY AND DIMINISHED CONFLICT IN INDOCHINA? IF THAT SHOULD BE UNREALISTIC IN THE SHORT TERM, HOW CAN WE INSULATE THE REST OF SEA AND OUR OWN RELATIONS WITH THE MAJOR POWERS FROM THE IMPACT OF CONTINUED LOCAL CONFLICT? THE SAME QUESTIONS MIGHT BE RAISED IN RELATION TO KOREA.

B. WHAT FOCUS SHOULD WE GIVE TO OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH JAPAN IN THE COMING PERIOD? SHOULD WE SEEK TO DEEPEN AND INSTITUTIONALIZE COLLABORATION ON POLITICAL-ECONOMIC ISSUES WITHIN A TRILATERAL FRAMEWORK? SHOULD WE PRESS THE JAPANESE TO ASSUME A LARGER REGIONAL ROLE? IF SO, WHAT ROLE? HOW DO WE WORK EFFECTIVELY WITH JAPAN ON THE MANY GLOBAL ISSUES- SUCH AS ENERGY, FOOD, MONEY, TRADE - WHICH INCREASINGLY COLOR OUR RELATIONS?

C. HOW SHOULD WE RESPOND IN THE ASIAN CONTEXT TO EXPRESSIONS OF MORE ASSERTIVE NATIONALISTIC RESOURCES POLICIES BY PRODUCERS OF KEY COMMODITIES? IN THE POLITICAL SPHERE HOW SHOULD WE REACT TO TRENDS TOWARD NEUTRALISM? END TEXT OF TAB A.
HODGSON

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